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MATERIAL CULTURE

WEAPONS

Easter Island weapons include spears with obsidian points, clubs, and stones to be hurled from the hand. 41

Stone Throwing

Stones were the weapons most commonly used in the beginning of a fight. To grasp a stone was an instinctive gesture with the Easter Islanders as soon as an argument started (230, vol. 6, p. 239). In all skirmishes with European seamen the natives attacked their enemies by pelting them with stones, which they threw with remarkable dexterity (15, vol. 1, p. 49). Hurling the stone with an underhand throw (*patu raro*) was a most difficult but effective method, as was casting the stone from the level of the ears. The blow was not so harmful when the stone was thrown from above the head (*patu runga*). Modern Easter Islanders insisted that slings (*maea-taea*) were known only after Easter Islanders contacted Tahitians and the early explorers who were attacked by the natives do not mention them. However, Roussel (191) translates the word *hura* as "sling". [17]

Spears

Two kinds of spears were used: a throwing spear or javelin (*kakau*), and a thrusting spear or pike (*vero*), both with heads of obsidian. According to Thomson the longer spears were used as missiles, the shorter as pikes or daggers for close fighting. I was told by natives that no such difference existed and that short-shafted spears were used as both daggers and javelins. The short javelins, which were hurled, were carried to the battlefield in baskets. Tales mention warriors who hid short spears under their cloaks to stab an enemy.

Tradition has it that stones and spears were dangerous only when the wind blew toward the enemy and that a rival group was attacked only when such favorable conditions existed.

Even at the time of Geiseler's visit, the natives were so skillful in throwing spears that they seldom missed aim. They were also remarkably swift in their movements and trained in the art of dodging missiles (230, vol. 6, p. 233). Spears were thrown "underhanded with the little finger foremost, without any vibratory motion" (215, p. 475). Wounds made by *mataa* were as serious as those made by pieces of glass; the scars were so conspicuous that they amazed the Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 100). Geiseler (87, p. 36) saw a skull which had been split into two by a *mataa*. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 234) writes that wounds produced by *mataa* were always fatal if they were deep.

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OBSIDIAN SPEAR POINTS

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The points (*mataa*), made from obsidian of Mount Orito, are scattered all over the island and are the most common objects to be found, even after hundreds of specimens have been taken for various museums and private collections. The technique used in making these points can be deduced from the specimens themselves:

> With a stone hammer a massive flake was chipped away from one side of a thick obsidian plate. This was worked down to the desired shape by removing smaller flakes (143, p. 91). The tang was formed by careful flaking or chipping. One spearhead which I collected has the tang partly ground, suggesting that it was intended for something other than a spearhead.

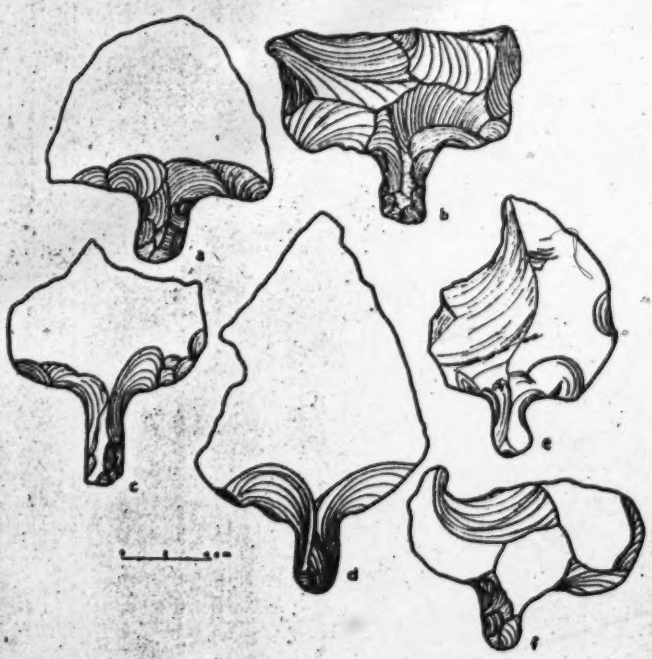

FIGURE 3.—Obsidian spear heads (*mataa*); *a-d, f*, B3481; e, 6715 (see ft. note 8 on page 167); *a*, type 1; *b*, type 2; *c*, type 3; *d*, type 4; *e*, type 5; *f*, type 6 (drawings made by H. D. Skinner).

Bishop Museum has a collection of 194 spear points which can be classified and 61 points either broken or too rough to be included in any series. Of a dozen average specimens which were weighed, the heaviest is 7 ounces

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and the lightest 2 ounces, the most usual being 4 ounces. In working over the Bishop Museum collection, Skinner (207) distinguished the following six types of points (fig. 3):

Type Number	Native Name	Number of specimens in Bishop Museum	Distinguishing characteristics
1	mataa rei-pure-rova, mataa arokiri	122	most easily made; cutting edge round in outline, blade resembles ace of spades without point
2	mataa hikuti-veva	11	straight cutting edge
3	not distinguished by name; similar to niho-mango (shark teeth)	4	central point emerging from tranverse cutting edge
4	mataa nutu-kutu (muta-kutu)	3	triangular, with no lateral wings
5	mataa-hae	30	roughly triangular with point to one side
6	mataa roa mataa haihaerue	24	most specialized type, cutting edge transverse, generally slanting and raised at one side to form lateral point

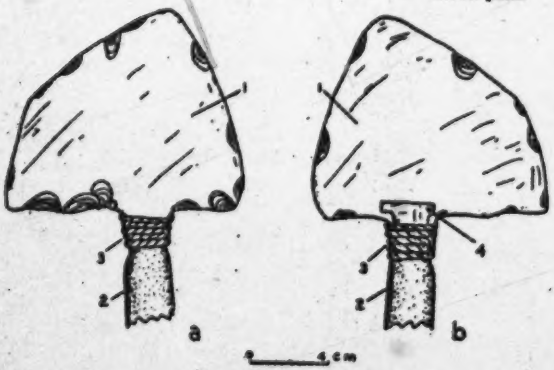

FIGURE 4.—Hafted spear (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22752): *a*, front view, obsidian point (1) of type 5, 120 mm. wide by 105 mm. long, tang wrapped with white tapa cloth and lashed to shaft (2) by transverse turns of cord (3) evidently of foreign make; shaft of ti wood (?), 1482 mm. long, 28 mm. in diameter, and nicked along right side; *b*, back view showing end (4) of shaft cut away on both sides to leave lateral projections to prevent slipping back through lashing.

[1] Unless otherwise specified catalog numbers given in figure legends are those of the Bishop Museum collection.

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411 In the Bishop Museum collection there is a basalt point of the same morphological type as the obsidian spearheads of type 1. The specimen (fig. 5, *b*) is unique in Easter Island archaeology and apparently served no practical purpose. The ground edges are too blunt to inflict any wound or to be used for cutting. The short tang indicates that the instrument was hafted.

The points were fastened to shafts (*kohau*) 6 to 8 feet long, made of ti stalks, *hau* wood, or paper mulberry wood. These handles were generally thin and crooked (83, vol. 1, p. 563; 54, vol. 1, p. 291). The tang of the point, wrapped in tapa cloth, was tied against a notch cut at the end of the shaft (fig. 4). A short flange prevented the lashing from sliding and sometimes it was tightened by the insertion of two splinters of wood (Univ. California Mus. 1160).

In the British Museum there are two *mataa* with their original hafting: Their short shafts have led many scientists to think that they were knives, but close inspection shows that the shaft was cut by the collector to facilitate the transportation of the weapons. *Mataa* are frequently figured among the signs on the tablets.

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FIGURE 5.—Weapons: *a*, long-handled club (*ua*), length 1.53 meters, greatest width of face 73 mm., length of head 90 mm., weight 47 ounces, classical type, well carved, eyes of bone and obsidian connected by narrow band to middle of elongated ears (B3690); *b*, basalt spearhead (B3556a); 1, front view showing chipped tang and ground edges; 2, side view; length from poll to tip 163 mm., greatest width 135 mm.; greatest thickness 21 mm.

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Clubs

LONG-HANDLED CLUBS

The long club (*ua*), which is still carved on Easter Island as a curio, was both a weapon and a parade staff for chiefs. Roussel (190, p. 426) includes them among the usual weapons of the natives, but Thomson (215, p. 475) asserts that the *ua* "was carried as a bâton of office before the chiefs and used only for that purpose." Geiseler (87, p. 34) says that the *ua* were carried during walks or to meetings. I was told that they were used as badges of dignity.

The *ua* (fig. 5, *a*) is a long staff, the cross section of which is a flattened ellipse. The upper end is decorated on both sides by bi-fronted human heads with eyes of bone and obsidian. The forehead is high and crossed by curved ridges, representing hair. The cheek bones protrude and have a crescentic form; the mouth, narrow and long, is slightly in relief. In the lobes of the ears, plugs of wood or bone are carefully indicated. The staff widens toward the distal end where it is somewhat flattened and has blunt edges. The distal end is slightly curved.

In Bishop Museum there are two specimens of old *ua* (B3689, B3690) and 16 more modern ones. The largest *ua* in the collection is almost two meters long, but it is of recent date and shows the tendency of the islanders to exaggerate the size of their modern productions.

Suitable pieces of wood for making *ua* were exceedingly rare on the island. This is manifest in the crookedness of many specimens. Holes or knots in the wood were painstakingly filled with small plugs cut to fit. These precious ceremonial weapons were kept in sheaths of bulrushes and were preserved as carefully as the wooden images. Two specimens of these sheaths with *ua* in them are preserved in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge.

SHORT-HANDLED CLUBS

The chief weapon for hand-to-hand fighting was a short, heavy, wooden club called *paoa*, the handle of which was carved in the form of a human head or of a lizard. The principal varieties of these clubs are illustrated in figure 6.

Tepano believed that carved wooden images of lizards (*moko*) were clubs, and to support his belief he quoted a tale in which a hero knocks down demons with a *moko*. Geiseler (87, p. 37) found an analogous tradition and states that the *moko* served principally to defend houses and to expel intruders from the door. As figures of rats or lizards were stood on either side of the door, it is possible that they were occasionally used as weapons.

Wooden Swords

The modern natives manufacture wooden swords for trade with passing ships. No mention is made by early travelers of the use of such weapons, and

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they do not appear in extensive collections made in the last 20 years of the nineteenth century. The very form of these curios suggests a recent origin. In the Young collection of Bishop Museum there is a piece of wood (B3625) terminating in the head of an eel which appears to me to be the prototype of modern wooden swords. This specimen, called *puhi* and classified as a wooden club, is also flattened, has blunt edges, and is curved like a boomerang. Its rough workmanship denotes recent origin.

Comparison with other Polynesian Weapons

An obsidian point found in the Yodda Valley in the northern division of British New Guinea (200) resembles in shape the Easter Island *mataa*.

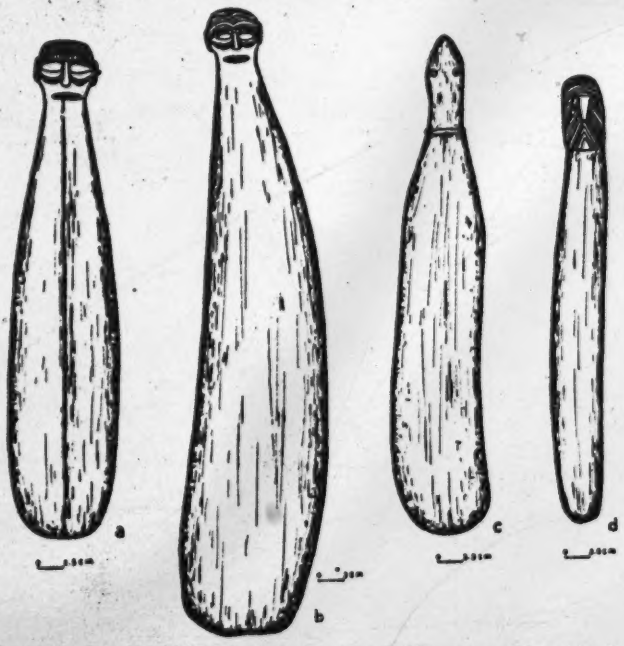

Figure 6.—Short-handled clubs (*paoa*): *a*, length 525 mm., greatest width 113 mm., head similar to that on *aa*, front surface of blade has median longitudinal ridge (B3619); *b*, length 623 mm., greatest width 114 mm. (B3618); *c*, length 530 mm., greatest width 103 mm., length of handle 110 mm., handle carved in lizard head, eyes made of ring of bone and obsidian inlaid in wood, one longitudinal edge and end blunt, one edge rounded (B3701); *d*, length 492 mm., greatest width 58 mm., length of handle 86 mm., probably modern curio, may have been used to beat fish to death, one side of handle carved in image, other side in rough human face and oblique lines, eyes protruding, nose indicated by long depression (B3702).

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Another obsidian point, brought back from New Guinea by Finsch, is considered by Seligman to be a relic of the period when the ancestors of the Polynesians were passing through Melanesia to reach their homes in the eastern Pacific. Unless the Polynesians, or, as Balfour (9, p. 357) believes, the Melanesians traveled directly from New Guinea to Easter Island without stopping, the relationship between New Guinea and Easter Island spear points is purely fortuitous. In the intermediate area there is no obsidian and no record of spear points. Even if obsidian points were originally common to all Polynesian cultures it is not likely that the technique of making them would have been perpetuated by several generations living on islands where there is no obsidian. The Easter Islanders must have "instinctively" resorted to the original pattern developed in their home country. This is hard to believe.

The Moriori call both the flint and their stone knives by the name *mata*. Their knives are tanged (206, pl. 26) and vaguely resemble some of the Easter Island spear points, especially those of type 6. In New Zealand *mata* means flint as well as obsidian; the Maoris used obsidian flakes as knives.

The Easter Island *ua* or baton of office resembles the famous Maori *taiaha* (flat club). Both have a thin, flattened lower end with a sharp edge. The upper end of the *taiaha* terminates in a flat point which is in the shape of a tongue and protrudes from a grotesque head. The position of the carved head of the *taiaha* is the reverse of that of the Easter Island *ua*, and does not favor a parallel between the two. The blade of the Marquesan chief's staff is a little narrower than that of the Easter Island flat club, and the handle is not carved. It is enclosed in a sleeve of coconut fiber and terminates in a pompon of human hair (142, p. 393). As noted by Linton (142, p. 396), the distribution of the narrow-bladed staff in Polynesia is limited to the Marquesas, New Zealand, and Easter Island.

The close resemblance between Easter Island short clubs (*paoa*) and New Zealand *mere* or *patu* was noted by Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 291), by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 536), and by later observers. Skinner (207) says that all the varieties of Easter Island clubs have corresponding varieties in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. The Easter Island *paoa* certainly belongs to the same type as the Maori *patu*. However, the analogy is imperfect, as no stone clubs have been found on Easter Island and there is no tradition about their existence. The Maori *mere* of the *patu onewa* type were made of stone (20, vol. 2, p. 267). Maori wooden clubs were fiddle-shaped or curved at the top like an English bill hook (20, vol. 2, p. 265), two types entirely foreign to Easter Island. The stone *patu*, which are the closest to Easter Island specimens, lack the poll decorated with a head. This peculiarity belongs to the wooden or bone *patu* which are the most different from the Easter Island types. The Easter Island *paoa* lack the suspension hole found

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411 171 in most Maori specimens. The ridging at the poll on some Easter Island clubs is the usual conventionalized representation of hair, characteristic also of wooden images. Hence the similarity to the transverse grooves on the poll of the Maori *pats* is purely accidental.

FISHING

226 It is impossible to get even an approximate idea of the importance of fishing in pre-missionary times. Fishhooks are found in great abundance in caves, carved fish are common in petroglyphs, and fishing episodes are numerous in folklore. But Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126) states that fish had an [262] insignificant place in the native diet and was considered a great delicacy. At the present time fishermen are few and go out only occasionally. Charli Teao is the only native I know for whom fishing has a special attraction and who derives benefits from this activity. While the *Mercator* was anchored in Hanga-roa Bay he supplied us with tuna which he traded for bread. Deep-sea fishing cannot be maintained on a profitable basis for there are only two boats on the island. Probably the lack of wood for building boats prevented extensive fishing in ancient times.

Numerous causes have contributed to the decline of fishing. The natives have had an ample supply of meat since the introduction of cattle and sheep. [423] Moreover they have free access to only a small part of the coast. If they wish to fish on the north or south coasts, where the coves and low shore are particularly favorable, they must obtain written permission from the Williamson and Balfour Company, and many natives are too shy to ask for it. Easter Island has no protecting coral reef, and in winter months the sea is too rough for the canoes to go far offshore. The fishing season begins at the end of October. The fishing near the island is not good. Ever since Captain Cook's time men have complained of the scarcity of fish.

136 Fish are said to be most abundant between the islets of Motu-kaokao and Motu-nui. A stone image called Pou-haka-nononga of the Ahu-anakoiroroa 226 was a landmark used by fishermen to find an area in the sea called Haka-no-[532] nonga where tuna were plentiful. Other places in the deep sea which were traditionally favorable for fishing (*kona-ika-nui*) had proper names. Tuna were caught at points off the coast called Hatehate and Mitiake; the best area for the *ature* fish was at Haka-kainga and for *mahore* fish at Tuaniu. Shore fishing was mostly a feminine occupation, and according to legends was once practiced on a wide scale.

226 Fishermen were called *rava-ika*; expert fishermen were *maori* or *rava-ika-maa* (fishermen-with-knowledge). Canoe fishing was indulged in even by the king (p. 132). Geiseler (87, p. 37) noticed that next to weapons, fishing implements were the most valued artifacts.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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To catch needle fish (*ihe*) the Marquesans had a special net of the same type as that used for flying fish. It was a small bag fixed to the arms of a fork lashed to a pole (142, p. 400). It is possible that the description of the *kupenga ihe* given by my informant is inaccurate and that the Easter Island *kupenga ihe* was like the Marquesan. However, in the Tuamotus the needle fish are caught in traps, hence we may assume that set nets could be used for the same purpose.

Fish Spears

Spears used by modern natives are of European manufacture. It is impossible to determine whether a spear is old or has been introduced by Tahitian settlers. When Roussel (190, p. 355) landed on Easter Island in 1866, some of the natives were armed with European harpoons. Modern spears are from 3 to 5 meters long and belong to two types, one a simple spear with an iron point, the other with a compound point working on the principle of a fish gorge. The fisherman dives, his eyes protected by glasses, and pierces fish that swim within his reach.

Turtle Watchtowers

Turtles were watched for from turtle watchtowers (*tupa*) along the shore near ancient settlements.

One tower at La Pérouse Bay (pl. 2, *B*) is 3 meters high and the diameter of its base is about 7 meters. The entrance is 80 cm. high and 1.10 meters broad. The interior of the building consists of big, unhewn stones, well laid. Inside they project gradually until they are spanned by slabs forming a crude corbeled vault. The largest tower is situated between La Pérouse and ahu Mahatua, near ahu Vai-mangeo. The tower has a kind of wing containing an inner chamber.

The *tupa* of ahu Akapu, seen by Cook and his party (83, vol. 1, p. 570) and accurately described by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 254), is still in fairly good condition. Its construction is similar to that of the tower at La Pérouse. The interior chamber is 24 feet long by 6 feet wide and 7 feet high in the center. The walls are 4 feet thick and the door is 2 feet high by 2 feet wide.

Thomson (215, p. 484) and Routledge (194, p. 218) were told that these towers were lookout stations whence the movements of turtles and fish could be watched, and I was given the same explanation. Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 12) was puzzled by the importance of the towers with their lower apartments, which are in no reasonable proportion to the purpose for which they were built. Though they are along the shore, these towers do not give the watchers any better view of the sea than any near-by hill. There are no such towers on the south coast; on the north they are few—I know of only five. In the Tuamotus and Hawaii, watchers sat at certain points along the coast to signal the arrival of turtles or fish. Heaps of stones served as elevations. The *tupa* of Easter Island were probably most similar to the Hawaiian fishermen's shrines (*ko'a*), which were terraces of stone. On some of them stood

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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It appears as if among themselves their goods are held in common, and I believe they conceal as much as they can get possession of below the ground, for we never saw afterwards any of the things we gave them. We treated them with every consideration, and gave them whatever they asked for. Many of them pronounce with clearness *Ave Maria; Viva Carlos Tercero, Rey de España.* The men are generally of large stature, very many exceeding 8½ spans [*palmos*] of Castile[1] [in height]; most of them attain 8 spans, and there were two whom out of curiosity we measured, one of 9 spans and 2 inches[2], and the other 9 and 3½ inches[3], all their limbs being of proportionate dimensions. The quality and *timbre* of their voice is adapted to pronounce any language with facility; theirs being very similar to Arabic; although for harshness and resonance it is on a par with that of the Lazarones of Naples.

We never saw their bravery put to the test, but I suspect they are faint-hearted; they possess no arms, and although in some we observed sundry wounds on the body, which we thought to have been inflicted by cutting instruments of iron or steel, we found that they proceeded from stones, which are their only [weapons of] defence and offence, and as most of these are sharp edged[4] they produce the injury referred to.

I made a bow and arrow, duly strung, by way of experiment, and on handing it to one of those with the scars he instantly stuck it on his head as an ornament, and then hung it round his neck with much joy, being totally ignorant of its use and effect.

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[1] The Castilian *palmo* or span is equal to 8½ inches. 8½ *palmos* therefore express 6 feet, less an inch.

[2] 6 ft. 5 ins. [3] 6 ft. 6½ ins.

[4] Obsidian.

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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They did the same with a knife and with a cutlass, which they took hold of indifferently by the point or by the hilt.

They seem to me to have ministers or priests for their idols; because I observed that on the day which we erected the crosses, when our chaplains went accompanying the holy images, clothed in their cassocks and *pelliz*, chanting the litanies, numbers of natives stepped forward on to the path and offered their cloaks, while the women presented hens and pullets, and all cried *Maca Maca*, treating them with much veneration until they had passed beyond the rocks by which the track they were following was encumbered.

Sunday, 18th. The natives continued to gather on board in greater number than on the preceding days, so that on this day there have been more than 400 in the frigate. What with men and women they collected in such crowds that it became necessary to send away some in order to make room for others, as we could not contain them on board. To-day at noon I observed the latitude of this bay with the greatest care, which I found to be 27° 26′; and I began on this same day to make a sketch of it, with an outline and views and exact soundings, in order to construct as accurate a chart of it as possible, and one that might serve as a guide and record for the future; though it must be stated that, on account of certain impediments, it was not possible to fix a base-line on shore for trigonometric operations.

Monday, 19th. At 10 in the forenoon our launches came in sight from the eastern part of the island, and our long-boat was told off to give ours a tow, as she had the wind ahead. The Commodore did the same for his. Our launch arrived alongside at one o'clock in the afternoon, with all her people, after having sailed entirely round the island; and the following account was by this means obtained.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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the landing-place from the mountainous ſwell that tumbled in upon the ſhore. About a hundred, or a hundred and fifty natives were aſſembled on the ſpot where we landed, almoſt all of them naked, ſome having only a belt round the middle, from whence a ſmall bit of cloth, ſix or eight inches long, or a little net, hung down before. A very few of them had a cloak which reached to the knees, made of cloth, reſembling that of Taheitee in the texture, and ſtitched or quilted with thread to make it the more laſting. Moſt of theſe cloaks were painted yellow with the turmeric-root. The people did not make the leaſt unfriendly motion at our landing, but expreſſed a prodigious dread of our fire-arms, of which they ſeemed to know the deadly effects. We ſaw but few arms among them; ſome however had lances or ſpears, made of thin ill-ſhapen ſticks, and pointed with a ſharp triangular piece of a black glaſſy lava (*pumex vitreus*, Linn.) commonly called Iceland agate. One of them had a fighting club, made of a thick piece of wood about three feet long, carved at one extremity; and a few others had ſhort wooden clubs, exactly reſembling ſome of the New Zeeland patoo-patoos, which are made of bone. We obſerved ſome who had European hats and caps, chequered cotton handkerchiefs, and ragged jackets of blue woollen-cloth, which were ſo many indubitable teſtimonies of the viſit which the Spaniards had made to this iſland in 1770. The general appearance of the natives ſeemed to argue a great

1774. March.

175X [192] [386] 175X 411 175X [171] 175X

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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we ſaw no tools; or raiſed and erected by them without machinery. The general appellation of this range was *Hanga* Tzsòw; hanga being the word which they prefix to every range. The names of the ſtatues were *Ko*-Tomoaï, Ko-Tomuèeree, Ko-Hòo oo, Morubèena, Oomarèeva, Weendboo, Weenapè.* 1774. MARCH. 175 532 [552]

"From hence we continued our march to the northward along the ſea, having a precipice on our right. The ground was the ſame ferrugineous *tufa* for a conſiderable way, covered with ſmall fragments; but after ſome time we came to a ſpot which was a ſingle coherent rock or lump of black melted lava, which appeared to contain ſome iron. There was no ſoil, graſs, or plant whatſoever upon it. Beyond it we paſſed through a number of plantations of bananas, potatoes, and yams, and one of eddoes. The graſs between the ſtones was plucked up and ſpread on the land, to ſcreen it from the ſun, to keep the moiſture of the rain in it, and at laſt to manure it. 175 134 175 241

"The natives continued to offer ſome potatoes for ſale ready dreſſed, and, at a hut where we halted, they ſold us ſome fiſh. Some of them carried arms, which were no other than the thin ſticks we had ſeen before, and which were headed with a black vitreous lava, carefully wrapped in a ſmall piece of cloth. Only one of them had a battle-axe, reſembling that of the New Zeelanders, though much ſhorter. It had a head carved on each ſide, and a ſmall round portion of the black glass above mentioned inſtead of eyes, 175 411 [531]

* *Ko* is the article, as at New Zeeland and in the Friendly Isles.

In New Zealand it is "Te." for [illegible]

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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board, talked a great deal of dancing, as ſoon as we had quieted his fears with reſpect to the ſafety of his perſon. The diſpoſition of theſe people is far from being warlike; their numbers are too inconſiderable, and their poverty too general, to create civil diſturbances amongſt them. It is equally improbable that they have foreign wars, ſince hitherto we know of no iſland near enough to admit of an intercourſe between the inhabitants; neither could we obtain any intelligence from thoſe of Eaſter Iſland upon the ſubject. This being premiſed, it is extraordinary that they ſhould have different kinds of offenſive weapons, and eſpecially ſuch as reſemble thoſe of the New Zeelanders; and we muſt add this circumſtance to ſeveral others, which are inexplicable to us in their kind.

Upon the whole, ſuppoſing Eaſter Iſland to have undergone a late misfortune from volcanic fires, its inhabitants are more to be pitied than any leſs civilized ſociety, being acquainted with a number of conveniencies, comforts, and luxuries of life, which they formerly poſſeſſed, and of which the remembrance muſt embitter the loſs. Mahine frequently lamented their unhappy ſituation, and ſeemed to feel for them more than he had done for the New Zeelanders, becauſe he found them much more deſtitute. He added another ſtick to the bundle which compoſed his journal, and remembered Eaſter Iſland with this obſervation, *tàta maîtaï, whennùa èeno*, that the people were good, but the iſland very

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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593 586 of injuries inflicted by her husband in a moment of blind rage over some grievance, fancied or real. In this connection it may be mentioned that subsequently this same woman went to nurse Pakomeo, previously mentioned, who was ill at the time. Upon the recovery, so well pleased were they with each other that she abandoned her cruel spouse, remained with Pakomeo, was living with him as his wife at the time of our visit, and the arrangement seemed mutually satisfactory.

304 [178] The custom of tattooing has fallen off within the last few years and is now rarely or never practiced. It is only among the adults, more especially among the older people, that good examples may be found. Unlike the inhabitants of other islands, where a standard pattern is adhered to, the Rapa Nuiis seem to have affected no uniform fashion nor limited themselves to any particular style. The custom obtained alike among the male and female members of the community. Generally speaking, the ornamentation was as follows: A narrow band around the upper part of the forehead, at the edge of the roots of the hair, with little balls, each joined to the band by a stem, pendant from it, the whole simulating a coronet; a line around the outer free edge, the helix, and lobe of the ear; a line around the edge of the lips; the neck in its entire circumference, either in straight lines, vertical or oblique, or with the lines wavy; three radiating exclamation marks beneath each ear, common among women at the present day; a girdle about the waist, in broad bands, with an attempt at lace work, or fringe, from which rise heavy lines, at the ends of which, toward the axillæ, are fanciful figures resembling faces, with a larger face in the middle of the back; fine lines down the thighs anteriorly; heavy, undulating bands posteriorly, running over the buttocks toward the waist; wavy or straight perpendicular lines, terminating in points, around the legs, and elsewhere.

[386 824] The material used in tattooing is made of the soot obtained by burning a plant with a leaf similar to our Indian corn, and called by the natives *ti*, moistened with the expressed juice of a berry similar to our pokeberry, and called *poporo*. Pieces of bone, finished like a fine-toothed comb, or fish bones made fast to a short stick, are used to prick the skin by holding in contact with the surface and striking it a brisk blow.

291 [386] Before the advent of the missionaries the Rapa Nuiis possessed scant wardrobes. They made a coarse cloth woven of the fibers of the inner bark of the *mahuti*, Chinese paper mulberry, or of the *burau*, another fibrous tree, which they wore about the shoulders and loins. This cloth [714 41] was also used, in the manner of a shield, as a protection in battle against the enemy's spears, which latter was, with the exception of the war club, their principal weapon, the head being made of obsidian, numbers of [287] which may be found on the island. They also made siapu, or tapa, as do the natives of other islands, by beating out the bark and wearing the same as a breechcloth. 291 177 With the coming of the missionaries civilized clothing was introduced and is now generally worn, comprising coat, shirt and trousers, among the men, and a loose gown of cotton mate-

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between the mountain in the apex and the cliff, and mixed up with them was a lesser people, the Hamea. To the east was another small clan, the Raa, which is spoken of in conjunction with the Miru and Hamea.

The principal Hotu Iti clans were the Tupahotu, the Koró-orongo, and the Hitiuira. The last were generally known as the "Ureohei"; they inhabited jointly the level piece of ground from the northern bay to the south coast, and had some dwellings on the eastern headland. Next to them on the south coast was a small group, the Ngaure.[1] The particular importance of the clans lies in the fact that, while they may be merely groups of one body, they may, on the other hand, represent different races or waves of immigrants. If there have been two peoples on Easter Island, these divisions are one place where we must at least look for traces for it.

Legend tells of continual wars between Hotu Iti and Kotuu. In recent times general fighting seems to have been constant, and took place even between members of one clan. A wooden sword, or paoa, was used, but the chief weapon was made from obsidian, and took from it the name of "mataa." This volcanic glass is found on the slope of Rano Kao, but the principal quarries are on the neighbouring hill of Orito. Tradition says its use was first discovered by a boy who stepped on it and cut his foot. The obsidian was knapped till it had a cutting edge, and also a tongue, which latter was fitted into a handle or stick (fig. 92). The various shapes assumed were dignified by names, fourteen of which were given, such as "tail of a fish," "backbone of a rat," "leaf of a banana." It was very usual to pick up these mataa, and hoards were occasionally found; in one instance fifty or sixty were discovered below a stone in a cave, and in another case the hammer-stone was found with them which had been used in the process of squeezing off the flakes. The weapon was

[1] Of these clan names, "Raa" means the sun and "Marama" the light. The signification of the others is not equally clear, and the natives could give no assistance; but Mr. Ray gives the following interesting information from other Polynesian sources. "Haumoana" means the sea-breeze; "Hitiuira" is probably "hiti-ra" or sunrise; and "Ure-o-hei" another version of "ura-o-hehe," or red of sundown. "Koro-orongo" is doubtless from "Koro-o-Rongo," or the ring of Rongo (a well-known Polynesian deity), that is the rainbow. "Kotuu" appears to be a contraction of "Ko Otuu," meaning "The Hill"; the name "Otuu" is used alternatively for the same district. "Hotu" is another form of the word for hill and "Iti" signifies small, it presumably refers to Rano Raraku.

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FIG. 92.

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[*Brit. Mus.*

OBSIDIAN SPEAR-HEADS.
(*Melan.*)

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[facing p. 224]

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411 used both as a spear and as a javelin. A site is pointed out near Anakena, where a man throwing down hill killed another at about thirty-five yards. The art of making these mataa is, of course, practically extinct, but one old man, commonly known as "Hé" (fig. 83) brought us some which he had manufactured himself for the Expedition, and which were fairly well wrought.

622 With the exception of the Miru, of which more will be said, there were no chiefs nor any form of government; any man who was expert in war became a leader. The warfare consisted largely of spasmodic and isolated raids; an aggrieved person gathered together his neighbours and descended on the offenders.

726 It is related incidentally that one man, going along the south coast, "found war going on," one set of men having blocked up another in a cave. Another story is told of six men, called Gwaruti-mata-keva, of the clan Tupahotu, who lived in a cave in a certain hillock on the south coast, known as Toa-toa. They went round in a boat to Hanga Piko, stole fish, and returned rapidly to their cave. A hundred men from Hanga Piko then came overland to punish the robbery, and made a fire of grass before the cave in which the men lay hidden. When the attackers assumed that the enemy were all dead from suffocation, they went into the cave; but those within had buried their faces in holes scraped in the earth, and when the men from Hanga Piko entered, they arose and slew the whole hundred.

575 A more interesting fact came out incidentally in connection with this gang of Toa-toa, connecting them with the secret societies found elsewhere in the Pacific. They were, it was said, in the habit of going about after dark with their faces painted red, white, and black, and visiting houses, where they declared they were gods, and demanded food, which the inhabitants accordingly gave them. The fraud, however, finally came to light when one day a man, who was travelling with his servant, saw them washing paint off their faces, "so they knew that they had deceived the people, and the people gathered together and killed them."

727 In these internecine fights fire was very generally set to the enemy's dwellings. ("He often burnt houses," a young man said, pointing to an older one, and the impeachment was not denied.) The ahu, too, were raided and bodies burnt, which [764] seems to be the cause of the burnt bones recorded by certain travellers; there is no reason to suppose there was cremation on sacrifice on Easter Island.